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FIRST REPORT

OF THE

QUEBEC LANDMARK COMMISSION

The Subject of this Report is

**The Preservation of the Heights and
Plains of Abraham**



QUEBEC
1907



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QUEBEC, September 24th, 1906.

HON. F. L'ANGELIER,
Chief Justice, Superior Court,
Quebec.

Sir,

On the eve of the approaching celebration of the 3rd. centenary of the foundation of our city, and by reason of the numerous questions which will inevitably arise concerning the preservation and maintenance of historic buildings and landmarks, as well as proposed constructions, improvements and embellishments, the Mayor of Quebec is impressed with the necessity of securing the help of sound advice, based upon experience and learning and wishes to secure the co-operation of competent judges of all such important matters.

I therefore sincerely believe that I am justified in requesting your consent to become a member of a consulting board, composed of yourself, Mr. Eugène Taché an architect and artist of great repute, both well versed in the archeology and history of our dear old city. You are also well versed in the history and archeology of our city, and the high position which you

occupy in the magistracy, your fine record as past Mayor of Quebec, and the confidence which you enjoy with your fellow-citizens, qualify you for appointment as a member of such a commission. In view of the wonderful progress of Quebec and of the great celebration proposed, the Mayor of Quebec is more than ever in need of sound advice and of help from all able and willing citizens. I hope that you will confer upon me the favour of your acceptance, and awaiting your favourable answer,

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed] J. GEO. GARNEAU,

Mayor of Quebec.

QUEBEC, September 24th, 1906.

Mr. E. E. TACHÉ, I.S.O.,
Deputy Minister of Crown Lands, etc.,
Quebec.

Sir,

On the eve of the approaching celebration of the 3rd centenary of the foundation of our city, and by reason of the numerous questions which will inevitably arise concerning the preservation and maintenance of historic buildings and landmarks, as well as proposed constructions, improvements and embellishments, the Mayor of Quebec is impressed with the necessity of securing the help of sound advice, based upon experience and learning and wishes to secure the co-operation of competent judges of all such important matters.

I therefore sincerely believe that I am justified in requesting your consent to become a member of a consulting board, composed of yourself, Hon. François Langelier, Chief Justice, and Major Wood, F.R.S.C., both well versed in the archeology and history of our dear old city. You are also well versed in the history and archeology of our city, and the confidence which

you enjoy with your fellow-citizens, qualify you for appointment as a member of such commission. In view of the wonderful progress of Quebec and the great celebration proposed, the Mayor of Quebec is more than ever in need of sound advice and of help from all able and willing citizens. I hope that you will confer upon me the favour of your acceptance, and awaiting your favourable answer,

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed] J. GEO. GARNEAU,
Mayor of Quebec.

QUEBEC, September 24th, 1906.

Major W. WOOD, F.R.S.C.,
*Past President of the Literary and
Historical Society of Quebec.*

Sir,

On the eve of the approaching celebration of the 3rd centenary of the foundation of our city, and by reason of the numerous questions which will inevitably arise concerning the preservation and maintenance of historic buildings and landmarks, as well as proposed constructions, improvements and embellishments, the Mayor of Quebec is impressed with the necessity of securing the help of sound advice, based upon experience and learning, and wishes to secure the co-operation of competent judges of all such important matters.

I therefore sincerely believe that I am justified in requesting your consent to become a member of a consulting board, composed of yourself, the Hon. François Langelier, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Quebec, and Mr. Eugène E. Taché, an architect and artist of great repute, both well versed in the archeology and history of our dear old city, and in which you would be

representative of our English-speaking community. You are also well versed in the history and archeology of our city, and your knowledge, as well as your standing amongst us as a past president of our Literary and Historical Society, qualify you admirably for a seat in such a commission. Although your functions will be purely honorary, I feel sure that you will not refuse to help me in the good work which I am willing to undertake and accomplish.

Hoping you will send me your acceptance of the same,

I remain,

Yours truly,

[Signed] J. GEO. GARNEAU,
Mayor of Quebec.

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FIRST REPORT
OF THE
QUEBEC LANDMARK COMMISSION

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*Appointed by His Worship the Mayor of Quebec, to
act as an advisory board on matters concerning
the history, embellishment and preserva-
of the characteristics landmarks and
beauties of the City*

bec.

QUEBEC, 22nd of December, 1906.

To his Worship,

J. GEORGE GARNEAU, Esq.,

Mayor of Quebec.

Sir,

I.

1. Having been appointed as advisory commissioners, with present reference to the permanent features of greatest general interest which may best be embodied in the forthcoming celebration of the 300th anniversary of the foundation of Quebec, we have the honour to

report that we unanimously recommend one all-important feature, in which natural and artistic beauty may be fittingly combined with every element of historic fame and, better still, with every noble sentiment that can enable the lasting interests of the City to be most deeply and most widely shared by the whole of our Dominion, by every sister nation in all our mighty commonwealth of Empire, by every French and American visitor who prizes the gallant days of New England and New France, and, finally, by the educated public of the world at large.

2. Nature and History have conspired to give Quebec this uniquely advantageous feature within the limits of a Park extending from the Citadel to Wolfe's Cove and comprising all that is left of the renowned Heights and Plains of Abraham. Maître Abraham, a man of Scotch descent serving Canada as the King's Pilot, obtained a homestead, overlooking the valley of the St. Charles, by a deed authorized by Champlain, the very man whose name will be on every tongue in 1908. But his sheep and cattle grazed all over the higher ground, nearer the St. Lawrence, and stretching from the City to Marchmont. They were driven to and from pasture along the path then called the route d'Abraham, which followed the line of the present rue d'Artigny, and were watered at the Claire Fontaine which has given its name to the street that points

straight for the historic spot now covered by the Ross Rifle Factory.

3. There are, of course, some difficulties in the way of realizing so great a scheme; though all of them together do not begin to outbalance the lasting advantages of a Park. The chief one is very pressing; so we beg leave to lay the arguments concerning it before you at once.

4. Owing to some presumed exigency of the moment, the Ross Rifle Company built a factory on the Heights, in order to execute a military contract within a certain limit of time. The factory itself was warmly welcomed for several good reasons. It was to make rifles for the Canadian Forces, to employ many hands, and pay out much money in wages. For all such reasons we beg to say that we concur most heartily in the welcome. We also fully agree with the point of view that any industry should always be made welcome in Quebec, if only for the reason that it is futile for any city, however famous, to live chiefly on the glories of the past, and that it is an unnatural and unhealthy condition for any city, however prosperous, to be simply a "show place" dependent for its livelihood on nothing but the arts of touristry.

5. But, none the less, we are bound to point out that, while the factory should be welcomed to the city of

Quebec, there are many and very grave reasons why it should no longer remain on its present site, and why no more land should be granted in that particular place—the Heights of Abraham. Commercial necessity does not appear to have been a deciding factor in the unfortunate choice of this site. Indeed, commercial convenience seemed to point the other way. The factory was built on the top of a hill, inconveniently far from roads, railways, wharves, waterworks, lighting and centres of labour. If, therefore, it should be removed to a suitable commercial site, it will suffer no disadvantage of location, but only disturbance of tenure. The safeguarding of the interests of all employees necessarily affected by the process of removal would, of course, be a most important point for very careful adjustment.

6. The claim for more land seems to be objectionable not only because it means a further encroachment on the Heights of Abraham, but because it is made in the interests of a private manufacture of non-military arms—in short, an exploitation of public ground for private trade. Besides, the Company already has all the ground over the slope, on the far side of which the factory was originally to have been built. With plenty of public land available for these private purposes it seems hardly reasonable to claim still more. The original transaction was carried through without giving

the public the slightest chance of expressing an opinion on this perversion of a site in which the whole world takes an interest. Apart from this, it is known that expert military opinion was entirely opposed to this building on the Heights. And had the centres of labour been given an unbiassed choice, they would doubtless have tried as hard to get the factory among them at that time as they are trying to get railway terminals among them now. One great mistake has been made; but can still be unmade. Let not a second aggravate the first, and perhaps make both irreparable. Factories can be moved: Nature and History can not.

7. Looked at impartially, even the immediate financial advantage of Quebec would be greater from a well placed Park than from the misplaced factory. Removal means work and wages for the community; rebuilding elsewhere, more still. A more suitable site would give greater opportunities for expansion, which would be universally welcomed and never opposed. The Park means work for laying out and permanent employment for keeping in order. An artificial lake on the site of the old pond would be of equal beauty and utility, and give abundance of water, always ready in case of accident, for Lower Town, St. Roch's and St. Sauveur. More work still would be wanted for the ground obtained in 1905 by the City, with the intention of making a magnificent avenue, 100 feet wide,

straight across the Heights of Abraham, from the Citadel to the Plains, passing in rear of the Drill Hall and in front of the Gaol. This Avenue would have buildings only on the side next to the Grand Allée. The permanent architectural memorial of 1908 should be on the highest part of the Avenue, and would probably be a great national Museum showing the development of the history of Canada from that of Quebec. The factory might not look quite so well, if left face to face with such a building; but, transferred to a better site, it would do at least as much for itself, its employees, and the City, as it does at present; while the throngs of visitors, who bring in more money than any single factory, would be drawn here in greater force than ever. Touristry should not be the all-absorbing business of any large town; but it is a great, a welcome, and a very fast increasing staple; and where is the wisdom of thwarting its finer interests and more legitimate demands, especially when they are also those of Quebec itself?

8. To sum up the business *pros* and *cons*. On one side, there would be the cost of a new site and the expenses of removal. On the other, the increased value of this new site; the wage-value of removal; the value of the Park and reservoir; the immense addition to the wage-fund caused by all the gardening, engineering, laying out and building up; the creation of very large new

properties along the built-up side of the Avenue; and the certain increase of touristy.

9. We might remark that both residents and visitors are every day becoming more and more alive to the fact that the part of the Heights of Abraham which is best fitted by History and Nature for a Park, and which still remains most adaptable for one, is also the very spot which never can become a Park so long as this incongruous factory remains where it is. The correct topography of our siege-grounds and battlefields has lately been worked out, and the results accepted by the most competent critics on both sides of the Atlantic. It is adopted for the forthcoming volumes of Avery's great standard History of the United States, for the new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and for all future issues of Baedeker's universally known guide-books. And the certain effect of this information, so soon to be spread through the whole educated public at home and abroad by all the most authoritative works of reference, will be to concentrate intelligent attention more and more on the site of the factory as part of the most historic ground in Canada, or in America, or in all the world.

10. "Anti-modern-progress" charges are quite beside the point in the present case, as a change of site would enrich and not impoverish Quebec. But, in passing,

it might be observed that London and Paris, New York and Berlin, are hardly the least successful of cities; while Hyde Park and the Bois de Boulogne, Central Park and the Thiergarten, all offer sites which are as much superior to the Heights of Abraham from a commercial point of view as they are inferior in natural advantages and historic renown. Yet Londoners and Parisians, New Yorkers and Berliners—who are not the least enlightened of mankind—never dream of covering their parks with factories. The inference is obvious.

11. The argument in favour of the Park is quite as strong from another important aspect. The question of reserving public grounds, on the score of public health, is a pressing problem in every civilized country. In some towns tax-yeilding houses are torn down, in order that the land may be laid out in grass. In others, every scrap of suitable open ground is jealously preserved. Even in the newest of pioneer settlements, springing up on the wide borderlands between civilization and the outer wilderness, and devoted to the sternest of utilitarian struggles for existence, there is a strong and increasing tendency to set apart a certain space for recreation. Now, in many other towns there is much doubt as to which is the best available site. In Quebec there is none. Nature and History and circumstances all point to that part of the Heights of

Abraham known as the Cove Fields. True, the residents in the immediate neighbourhood mostly go away for the summer, and so would miss much of the finest season in the year. But the general population, and more particularly the factory hands and other indoor workers, who stay in town, would find the Park at its very best just when they needed it the most. In making these recommendations, we do not forget Victoria Park. But there is room and need for both. It is one of the peculiar advantages of the Cove Fields that they offer residents on the low-lying banks of the St. Charles a complete change of air and scene and elevation at such an easy distance from their homes; and the Park will naturally become more and more accessible to more and more people, as the improvement of street-car service must follow the increase of population. It may be added that a large number of people already use what still remains open ground as a sort of park on any fine afternoon from May to October.

12. The boundaries of the Park would be the Citadel on the East, the St. Lawrence Cliffs on the South, and Wolfe's Cove on the West. The Northern boundary would be the new Avenue as far as the present Plains, which would retain their own boundaries, except that enough ground would be added, between Marchmont and the Cliffs, to connect them with the top of the road leading up from Wolfe's Cove.

13. We understand that the name of the present Prime Minister of Canada has already been given to the Avenue. May we suggest that the name of our present Governor-General might very suitably be given to the Promenade which would run along the crest of the St. Lawrence Cliffs the whole length of the Park and on to Wolfe's Cove? The Plains of Abraham should certainly retain a name known round the world, and should be made and kept perfectly open, at least within the limits of the old race-course, as they are the one and only suitable review ground in Québec. But, while recommending the most careful safeguarding of their identity, we venture to suggest that the Park, in its entirety, might well be given the name of his present Majesty. In this way, three generations of a Royal House so greatly revered in the whole Dominion would be given the due and lasting honour of three befitting memorials in the historic heart of Canada:—Kent Gate, to which our late Queen so largely contributed in memory of her father; and the twin Parks called after "Victoria the Good" and Edward VII.

14. There can be no doubt whatever that if Quebec should thus rise to the full height of her uniquely splendid opportunity in 1908, with such new revelation of her chief scenic beauty and such perpetual commemoration of her ancient fame, she must be made more than ever illustrious by her magnificent "Laurier

Avenue", her cliff-crowning "Grey Promenade," her unforgettable "Plains of Abraham," and her unrivalled "King Edward Park."

II.

15. Your Worship will doubtless have noticed that we have not advanced those points of universal history which form the strongest of all arguments in favour of the Park and which, in fact, prove the whole case beyond the shadow of a doubt. Nor shall we do so; because it would be an insult to the intelligence of any educated person to thrust forward insistent proof of what is everywhere accepted as part of the common stock of human knowledge. To say that the Heights and Plains of Abraham are thrice-consecrated ground to some of the greatest peoples of to-day, as being the hero-field of their forbears and the "God's Acre" of their most honoured dead, and to say that any wanton destruction by incongruous buildings of that part of these grounds which is the most famous in history, the most beautiful by nature, and the best preserved by circumstances, would be an act of the grossest vandalism, if committed otherwise than by some unfortunate mistake—to say this is only to say what thousands have written and millions have read. Of course, those who put the Ross Rifle Factory where it is could only have done so to suit some passing exigency, or from a mistaken knowledge of the ground, or perhaps by inad-

vertence. And when once the public understands where the great historic sites really are, and how many such will be included in the Park, it will certainly demand the safeguarding of these priceless landmarks as an heirloom of Canada for ever.

16. Putting aside, therefore, as superfluous, because universally acknowledged, the general argument that some parts of the Heights and Plains are well worth keeping, we beg leave to give a few historical details, which will show why the proposed Park would be the one part best worth keeping of all. Many of these details were unknown till Dr. Doughty made the original sources of information part of the Archives of Canada. Even the very site of Wolfe's battlefield has only been definitely fixed within the last six years. So those who obliterated one of the great historic spots with a huge and hideous red brick factory, four years ago, may not have realized that they were desecrating ground made sacred by the blood of heroes and illustrious by being within the scene of one splendid naval action, two immortal battles, and three memorable sieges.

17. Eight days before the Battle of the Plains, Montcalm sent the regiment of Guienne to patrol the heights from Quebec to Cap Rouge. Two days later Vaudreuil withdrew it. On the very day before the battle Montcalm ordered the same Regiment to encamp just above

Wolfe's Cove, as he rightly distrusted Vergor who commanded the post there. But Vaudreuil, who was the official commander-in-chief, again counter-ordered. At the Battle the French formed a line across the Heights, roughly corresponding with that marked out by the four Martello Towers. Some Indian and Canadian skirmishers fired from the bushes near the edge of the St. Lawrence Cliffs. But most of the Canadians in this part of the field formed up in line of battle on the factory grounds. Many of these Canadians helped to make the splendid stand at the Côte d'Abraham, where they lost over two hundred men while thus checking the British pursuit of the broken French Regulars. Then, near the Grande Allée Martello Tower, came the gallant Royal Roussillon, who fought the hardest, stood the longest, and lost the most of all the French troops in that momentous struggle. About an hour after Wolfe's victory Bougainville arrived from near St. Augustin, where the clever feint of some British men-of-war had held him overnight. He is not to blame for being the victim of sea-power; and his rapid march of fifteen miles to the battlefield, with sorely harassed troops, and his immediate reconnaissance in force against Townshend, were all he could have done under the circumstances. Townshend's left crossed the Plains, this time with two six-pounders man-hauled by blue-jackets, and exchanged shots with Bougainville's right near Marchmont.

18. Montcalm, riding up to reconnoitre, first saw Wolfe's line from where the Park road, at right angles to Laurier Avenue, will join the Grande Allée. He rode across the Park, between the two Martello Towers, when inspecting his own line just before its final advance. "When Montcalm had first ridden up to the top of the ridge, he could only see the thin two-deep line in the centre and on the left, the British right being under cover and all ranks lying down. The very unusual thinness of the line, and the great apparent gap on its right, both led him to believe that his officers were correct in their views, and that he could still catch Wolfe in the act of forming for battle. And, for the moment, he saw the chance of one more desperate victory apparently within his grasp." [This was his fifth encounter with the British forces; and he had beaten them in all the previous four:—at Oswego in 1756, Fort William Henry in 1757, Ticonderoga in 1758, and Montmorency, on the 31st of July, when Wolfe made his first great effort.] "And so it was with a real hope of victory in his heart that Montcalm rode down the front of his line of battle, stopping to say a few stirring words to each regiment as he passed. Whenever he asked the men if they were not tired they answered that they were never tired before a battle; and all ranks showed as much eagerness to come to close quarters as the British did themselves..... Sennezergue, St. Ours and Fontbonne were the three Brigadiers, who

took post with the right, centre, and left respectively. And all three of them alike shared the glorious death of their great commander. But Montcalm himself towered aloft and alone—the last great Frenchman of the Western World. he never stood higher in all manly minds than on that fatal day. And, as he rode before his men there, in the full uniform of a Lieutenant-General of the King, wearing his cuirass, and mounted on a splendid black charger, his presence seemed to call them on like a “drapeau vivant” of France herself.” Just where the townward exit from the Park leads into the Grande Allée is where Montcalm—having received his second, and mortal wound—rode towards St. Louis Gate, supported by two faithful Grenadiers. “As he rode down the street, some terrified townswomen shrieked out, “Oh, mon Dieu! le Marquis est tué!” But he tried to reassure them by replying: “Ce n’est rien. Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies.” and so passed on to die.

19. On the extreme right of the British line stood the 35th, crowning the knolls near the Observatory and back as far as the Gaol, to keep the Indian and Canadian skirmishers from creeping round. The 35th were originally raised in Ireland, had been there for forty years before they came out to Louisbourg in 1758, and were Irish to a man. They so greatly distinguished themselves when crossing bayonets with the

Royal Roussillon—who were foemen worthy of their steel—that they literally “got a feather in their cap,” by being granted the right to add the Roussillon plume to their regimental badge, which still bears it at the present day. Next came the well known Louisbourg Grenadiers, formed from the Grenadier companies of five battalions which served at Louisbourg in 1758 but were not ordered to Quebec in 1759. Then came the 28th, an English regiment, which has the singular right of wearing two helmet-badges, one in front and one behind, in commemoration of their gallantry in repulsing a simultaneous attack from both front and rear in Egypt, under Abercromby. Beyond the 28th was Captain York’s 6-pounder, man-handled by Bluejacks, up from Wolfe’s Cove and across the present “Plains”, just in the nick of time. Near the top of Maple Avenue, and with its right wing on the Park grounds, stood the 48th in reserve. This regiment was in Braddock’s defeat by de Beaujeu on the Monongahela in 1755, where it suffered terrible losses, and where Washington, then aide-de-camp to the British General, had four bullet holes in his coat and two horses shot under him in rapid succession. At the western confine of the Park, between Marchmont and the Cliff, the Third Royal Americans were posted to protect the road above the Cove during the battle. “The Royal Americans” were raised in 1755, a little more than a century before the “Royal Canadians,” and fought valiantly against

Montcalm's entrenchments at Ticonderoga. It would be impertinent to praise a regiment so justly celebrated under its three successive titles of "Royal Americans," "The 60th," and "King's Royal Rifle Corps." Its famous motto, *Celer et audax*, was granted in honour of its services under Wolfe; and that it was equally true to this motto generations after is proved by the fact that it won no less than seven V. C.'s at Delhi alone during the Indian Mutiny. Five other facts about it are well worth noting. It was the first regiment of British Colonial Regulars in the World; the first to introduce rifled weapons among the armies of the great powers; the first to bring the rifle-green uniform into the service; and one of the last imperial regiments to garrison Quebec, where the 8th Royal Rifles and 9th Voltigeurs—like other Canadian Rifle Regiments—still wear a modern variety of the same uniform which was first seen in Quebec at the Battle of the Plains.

20. On the 10th of September Wolfe chose the *Anse au Foulon* (now called Wolfe's Cove) for his final attempt. Nobody, not even his Brigadiers, knew the exact spot, except Admiral Holmes and Captain Chadwick who had charge of the landing operations. On the 12th he took boat to make his last reconnaissance, and used a plan by Major Mackellar and a chart by Captain Cook. It is a curious coincidence that while Cook

the famous English circumnavigator, was trying to help him into Quebec, Bougainville, the famous French circumnavigator, was trying to keep him out. And an even more interesting fact in the romance of real history is that it was while engaged in this reconnaissance, and not while leading the column of boats down to the attack next morning, that Wolfe recited Gray's Elegy to the officers about him. We shall now follow his movements on the day of the battle. "By about four, the boats of the leading brigade had arrived safely in the *Anse-au-Foulon*..... Wolfe was the first man to leap ashore and anxiously scan the Cliffs above him. The storming party, consisting of the forlorn hope, under De Laune, and 200 Light Infantry, as quickly formed up; when Wolfe led these men in person 150 yards to the right, and pointed out the steep spur they had to climb, in order to take Vergor in rear. "I don't know," he said, "whether we shall be able to get up there, but we must make the attempt." The ascent was made successfully and Vergor's post rushed at the point of the bayonet. Howe's Light Infantry then sprang forward, up the road, quickly followed by the Louisbourg Grenadiers and 58th. Murray was the first Brigadier up. Wolfe followed half an hour later. He had been rowed down towards Cape Diamond in the meantime, to recall some troops who were landing too far below the Cove. Wolfe's line of battle, in its final formation, was only a few yards on the country side of

de Salaberry Street, and stretched from St. John Street, across the Grande Allée, and to the Observatory, where the extreme right was thrown back at right angles to the front, corresponding to the extreme left on St. John Street. He took post himself between the Louisbourg Grenadiers and the 28th; not far from the corner of the lane leading from the Grande Allée, as it turns to the right towards the Gaol. Can any one who knows both battle and battlefield deny that the scene and the occasion were each completely worthy of the other?

21. "All Nature contains no scene more fit for mighty deeds than the stupendous amphitheatre, in the midst of which Wolfe was waiting to play the hero's part. For the top of the promontory made a giant stage, where his army now stood between the stronghold of New France and the whole dominion of the West. Immediately before him lay his chosen battlefield; beyond that, Quebec. To his left lay the northern theatre, gradually rising and widening, throughout all its magnificent expanse, until the far-ranging Laurentians closed in the view with their rampart-like blue semi-circle of eighty miles. To his right, the southern; where league upon league of undulating upland rolled outward to a still farther-off horizon, whose wider semi-circle, curving in to overlap its northern counterpart, made the vast mountain-ring complete. While east

and west, across the arena where he was about to contend for the prize of half a continent, the majestic River, full-charged with the right-hand force of Britain, ebbed and flowed, through gates of empire, on its uniting course between Earth's greatest Lakes and greatest Ocean. And here, too, at these Narrows of Quebec, lay the fit meeting-place of the Old Word with the New. For the westward river-gate led on to the labyrinthine water-ways of all America; while the Eastward stood more open still—flung wide to all the Seven Seas."

22. There have been many perversions of Wolfe's death-scene; and West's picture, which is the best known, is probably the worst of all. The known facts are very simple. "When Wolfe saw the French waver and begin to give ground, he took post in front of the Grenadiers, and ordered a general charge. But just as the British charge commenced he was mortally wounded by a bullet in his chest, and reeled aside, half stunned by the shock. Captain Curry immediately sprang to his side and supported him; the General's great anxiety being that his men should not see him fall." Curry, with Brown and Henderson of the Grenadiers, then helped him to the spot where his monument now stands. "His favourite servant, François, and Doctor Wilkins, the Staff-Surgeon, took charge of him there. It was at once evident that he had only a few minutes to live; and they made him as

comfortable as possible by seating him on a grenadier's coat. The bullet [now in the King's possession] was so deeply imbedded that no attempt was made to extract it. His eyes had become so dim that he could hardly see, and his head had already sunk upon his breast, when some one on the knoll in front called out, "They run, they run!" He had kept quite conscious to the last, and at once roused himself, as if from sleep, and asked: "Who run?"—"The French, Sir,—Egad, they give way everywhere!"..... "Then, I die content!" And, almost as he said it, his soaring spirit passed away."

HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS

23. "It would be hard indeed to find, in all history, a more nearly perfect feat of arms than this Battle of the Plains. It is true enough that the numbers engaged on both sides together were very few—but there were as many as stood for Greece at Marathon. It is also true that the strategic issue of the entire campaign, and of the battle itself, depended on the Navy. But that still leaves the tactical honours to the Army. The daring, yet profoundly calculated, plan was Wolfe's alone. His well judged innovation of a two-deep line [the first in history] was amply vindicated by the result. And there is no finer example of British discipline, on land or sea, than the one given by that first of all *thin red lines*..... We may well

ask ourselves where else we can find so many really remarkable men among so small a personnel. Saunders ruled the Admiralty with tact and skill during many years. Lévis and Townshend both enjoyed the highest honours in their respective Armies, and both died with the well-earned rank of Field-Marshal. Jervis was at the head of the Navy during the crisis of the Napoleonic Wars. Bougainville and Cook divided between them more than half the world-wide discoveries of that awakening age. Murray was the first and best of the military rulers. Carleton saved Quebec and the whole Colony for the Empire in 1775. But no fame won in later days should ever dim that which the gallant leaders on both sides won there at the time; for all of them gave proof of that true self-sacrifice which is the very soul of discipline and honour. Let us remember how, on the victorious side, the young commander was killed in the fore-front of the fight; how his successor was wounded at the head of his brigade; and how the command-in-chief passed from hand to hand, with bewildering rapidity, till each of the four British generals had held it in turn during the space of one short half-hour: then, how the devotion of the four generals on the other side was even more conspicuous, since every single one of these brave men laid down his life to save the day for France: and, above all, let us remember how lasting the twin renown of Wolfe and Montcalm themselves should be; when

the one was so consummate in his victory, and the other so truly glorious in defeat."

24. In the spring of 1760 Lévis started from Montreal with 7,260 men, made a magnificent march over almost impassable roads, called the whole strength of New France to his standard as he advanced, and, finally, beat Murray, who had sallied out with 3,000 men to meet him, on the 28th of April, after a most desperate and bloody battle. The scene of action was a little closer in than the Belvedere. Murray's left advanced to the attack across the present "Plains," and met Lévis' right near Marchmont. Among the troops on the British left were Hazen's American Rangers and some Highlanders under Donald McDonald, all of whom fought valiantly against overwhelming odds. Hazen, who afterwards became a general in the American Revolution, was wounded; MacDonald, killed. Descendants of Wolfe's and Murray's Highlanders still live in thousands on the shores of the Lower St. Lawrence. Murray Bay is called after the British General, and Fraserville after the chieftain of the old 78th, "Fraser's Highlanders." At the propitious moment, Lévis rode along the line, ordering a general advance, in which the Canadians greatly distinguished themselves by their bold attack in the open, though they were only trained for bush-fighting and had no bayonets. The Royal Roussillon was again to the fore, and its impetuous

charge, from Marchmont to the Plains, made the first breach in the British line, which then began to give way from left to right. After the battle Wolfe's Cove was used by Lévis as it had been by Townshend the year before. Stores and siege equipment were landed there and hauled up the hill and across the Park grounds to where Bourlamaque was directing the works against Quebec.

25. "It was now once more plain to every one that the immediate fate of Canada hung upon the command of the sea. The siege still went on, Lévis being determined to press it home to the uttermost. At nine o'clock, on the night of the 15th of May, three men-of-war came in together. The officer commanding a detachment of the besieging army down at Beauport immediately sent off a dispatch to Lévis, informing him that the French ships had just arrived. But the messenger was stopped by Murray's outposts. Lévis himself was meanwhile advancing on Quebec in force. He broke through the line of sentries, and was pressing on to the assault, when a prisoner, who had just been taken, informed him that these vessels were the vanguard of the British fleet! On hearing this, he immediately recalled his troops. For now the French had no choice of action; and to await the arrival of Colville's whole squadron was simply to court destruction. They hurriedly prepared to raise the siege; and, at ten

o'clock the next night, the 16th of May, they broke up camp, abandoned their guns and equipment, and retreated in all haste, both by land and water. The next morning Murray made a vigorous sortie in full force; but his advanced party found the trenches empty...." Both armies had crossed the Park grounds again and again in alternate attack and defence, retreat and pursuit, as the fortunes of war fluctuated to and fro and victory hung in the balance.

26. The next morning, the 17th of May, 1760,—let this date be well remembered in the war history of Canada—the most gallant sea-fight ever fought in Canadian waters began in full view of the Park. Commodore Swanton bore up the River under a press of sail, so soon as it was light, to destroy the French men-of-war and capture their transports; so as to cut off Lévis' line of retreat by the St. Lawrence. His attack was so sudden that there was considerable confusion among the French while getting under way, and the *Pomone* ran ashore. Then Vauquelin, who had already won his laurels at Louisbourg, drew clear with the *Atalante*, and, handling her with consummate skill and daring in the narrow sea-room left between the two fleets, began to head off Swanton's advance. For twenty miles he kept up this desperate rear-guard action and prevented the British van from closing with his convoy. At last, with his ammunition failing and

his crew falling fast around him, he determined that the *Atalante* should not become a British prize; so he ran her on the rocks at Pointe-aux-Trembles, set her hold ablaze, fired his last round at the enemy, landed all that remained of his crew, and left his colours flying

27. The Park would also include most of the ground defensively entrenched by Townshend the night after the Battle of the Plains, and the right flank of the works he threw up near the walls to force the surrender of the City. It is interesting to note that many years afterwards, when he was Master-General of the Ordnance in England, he approved the fortifications on the western slope of Cape Diamond which the Royal Engineers made in 1783, and which have so often been wrongly described as "old French works." The extreme right of the first parallel that Lévis opened at 600 yards from St. Louis Gate was also on ground within the Park. In 1775-6 the American forces, under Montgomery, Arnold and Wooster, repeatedly used the Heights and Plains in the course of their investment of Quebec. They skirmished against the British outposts on the Cove Fields, from which they also exchanged shots with the Citadel. And Montgomery's night march against the Près-de-Ville barricade, where he met his death and defeat, was made from Holland House to Wolfe's Cove and thence in along Champlain

Street, which is directly under the proposed "Grey Promenade."

28. King Edward Park will indeed be unique among the famous sites of history. There are many places which a single people hold dear for some single great action on either land or sea. There are not so many which commemorate a victory won by a United Service on land and sea together. There are not nearly so many where each side has gained equal honour and alternate victory. There are still fewer, again, where both sides have met twice on both elements with equal credit in victory and defeat. And there are none, outside Quebec, where more than two peoples have met more than twice on both land and sea, with honours well divided between them all. Certainly, no single plot of ground, except the Park, can call forth such stirring memories of so much dangerous duty faithfully performed by both the sea- and land-services of so many different countries. Is there another field of honour, the whole world round, that is common to such a multifirmity of naval and military bodies, representing such various fellow-countrymen? Saunders commanded the greatest fleet then afloat in the world, comprising more than a quarter of the whole Navy. It is not generally known that there were twice as many seamen as landmen engaged in the taking of Quebec; of course, including the men of the merchant service, who manned

the transports. Among these last were many hundreds of New Englanders, and of "Bluenoses" from Nova Scotia, with some Newfoundlanders; while 240 more were enlisted at Boston for some short-handed men-of-war. The Royal Marines, like the Royal Americans, were going through their first war as a regular fixed organization. Wolfe had English, Scotch and Irish regiments, besides Colonial Regulars and Rangers. Montcalm and Lévis had "Troupes de la Terre" from parts of France as far south as Languedoc, Guienne, Béarne and Roussillon; while his Canadian Regulars and Militia were mostly of Norman and other northern origin. Vauquelin had sailors as brave as any that ever pointed guns aboard French men-of-war. Indians have played their part here in many a fight. Montgomery led his American "Continental" forces across the field. And Carleton had under his command practi-

every racial element in the great Dominion of our day:—French and French-Canadians from the time of the old régime; and, among those that came in with the new, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Channel Islanders, and the forerunners of the U. E. Loyalists. There is no other spot on earth of equal interest to all who speak the two great modern languages of French and English, and who are citizens of the three great world-powers of the British Empire, the United States and France.

29. And shall we now ungratefully forget how much our strenuous modernity owes to these heroes of the past? In any case, we must remember that however basely we might strive to ignore our debt, we cannot deny it. The great truths of history would shame our presumptuous sin at once. Could modern Greece have come into being at all, could Italy have become a nation or Germany an empire, unless there had been Greeks, Italians and Germans who understood the living forces of an inspiring history? Could we now enjoy free British institutions unless both we and our institutions had been fitted for each other by a long historical development? A battlefield is not an odd stray bit of bric-a-brac, for dilettante antiquarian delight; nor are its heroes mere mummied memories, for the disquisitions of a Dr. Dryasdust. No! The field, the men, the memories are one—one living, moving and inspiring whole. And to ignore this is to argue an almost greater ignorance of science than of history; for both agree in proving conclusively that there is no stronger determinant in all the affairs of men than the influence of national heredity.

30. Ask the Japanese if they found the worship of their ancestral glories a hindrance in the field. Ask them if they ever found it a hindrance to their success in other walks of life. Ask anyone who knows anything if they have not already become one of the

leading peoples of the modern world. Then find out what Bushido is; and you will find an answer that explains the real reasons of many other than Manchurian victories, and many a success of peace as well as war. But, after all, the Japanese have only shown the world again what all great peoples have shown it since history began: that true fame is the living souls of heroes dead. Shall we Canadians now show the world again what all decaying peoples have shown it since history began: that the truest of all infamy is to have dead souls in living bodies? Should we not rather give free scope to our better feelings, to feelings which have been deepened by the Celtic blood in our admingled races? The mighty dead are always a living memory and quickening example to every Celt—even when lesser bards than Angus O'Gillan have sung the requiem of humbler heroes than those who fell at Clonmacnois.

31. There are other great historic glories besides those wrested from the battlefield; and other men not less deserving of our reverence than those renowned in war. But statesmen and leaders in religion have continually been forced to deal with differences which still form living issues of division in our midst; and, as yet, we have not had one man whose hand could wield the pen, or brush, or chisel, with half the skill with which the sword was wielded by Montcalm and Wolfe.

While, even if we had another galaxy of even greater glories and even greater men, where could we find another ground on which to honour even a very few of them together?

3^d. But we repeat that this is not the only, nor even the chief, reason why we—the French- and English-speaking peoples of to-day—should keep the Park grounds as a thing apart, inviolate and sacred. And we insist, again and again, that these grounds make their highest, and yet most intimate appeal of all, because they are the very crucible in which our own several races were tried and tried again in the intensest fire of war; tried, and not found wanting. If sterling national worth be wrought into heroic moulds only by national discipline, if discipline be always based on the sacrifice of self for the public good, and if the highest of all self-sacrifice be that of life itself; then, surely, sterling national worth was wrought for us there, five generations since, by those who followed the different ideals they believed in to the very death. And these well-tried, faithful men are still the best of what we are ourselves. Their blood pulses through our veins; their transmitted energy is ours, though chiefly used in other ways of service to the State; their bright example still shines before us: and here, on these world-celebrated Heights and Plains of Abraham, they unite us all for ever in a single glory and on a single field.

III.

33. Is this a place to wanton with, to bandy words about, to grant for exploitation? The existing evil is bad enough,—the glaringly incongruous, huge and hideous, red brick packing-case of the Ross Rifle Factory. This scandalously misplaced factory, however, contains valuable machinery and infinitely more valuable men and women employees, none of whom should suffer through any change. Machinery can be moved elsewhere without loss. So the one real crucial question in the case would be that of these men, who are in no way responsible for the disastrous choice of a site, and who should certainly be guaranteed at least as good employment, and at least as well situated a centre of residence, when the factory is moved, as they enjoy at present; also continuous employment during the change. As for the factory buildings; they must either be destroyed, or they will continue to destroy the greatest heritage of Canada. The shrewd, alert Americans—whom no one can accuse of indifference to business—have set apart the Yellowstone and the field of Gettysburg as heirlooms of the state for ever. Yet we, who have our park and battlefield in one spot, seem to grudge the rescue of one half of one square mile,

among three millions, from the clutch of desecration and company-promoting!

34. Are we even business-like in selling our birth-right for this mess of pottage? There is a fitness and congruity of things in business, as in the other relations of our daily life. And is it good business to pervert this ground—so formed by Nature, hallowed by History, and spared by Fortune as fittest for a National memorial—to quite an alien purpose? We rightly welcome all industries among us, and should accommodate them with good sites, near the most suitable centres of labour. But should we destroy a site so manifestly marked out for a different destiny? Should we put men to work in their best recreation ground, when there are other places fit for business sites? And shall we be very proud to show the thronging guests of 1908 that the one spot in all Canada which the whole world knows for its glory is defaced by a factory and crowned by a gaol?

35. It might be objected that it would be better to leave the ground as it is, after removing the factory, so that it might more faithfully represent the actual field of battle. But the field can never be restored to what it was when Wolfe set foot upon it. Natural denudation has altered the spur up which his forlorn hope crept that September morning. The grading necessitated by the buildings has changed some other contours

beyond recall. And, if a faithful restoration were to be attempted, we should have to plant Indian corn and clumps of bushes, and do many other things, without any certainty of satisfactory results. No: a park, in which all possible characteristics of the fields of battle are clearly marked and carefully preserved, is by far the best solution of the present problem, and the best guarantee for the rights of posterity.

36. And it is surely as trustees for posterity that this generation of Canadians should view the whole question of safeguarding these grounds. And, in safeguarding them, we shall make it possible to commemorate, here in Quebec, the greater part of the history of all Canada, from Jacques Cartier to Confederation. A tour, the like of which it would be hard to find elsewhere, could be made feasible for any pedestrian before the tercentennial fêtes of 1908. It should follow the edge of the heights all round Quebec, overlooking both the St. Lawrence and the valley of the St. Charles, till Wolfe's Cove is reached on one side, and the brow of the cliff below the monument *Aux Braves* on the other. These two opposite points are already joined by the road from the Cove and the Belvedere; and a slight prolongation of the latter would make the connection complete.

37. The tour would include the Terrace, Citadel Walk, Grey Promenade, Belvedere, and a walk along

the edge of the St. Charles cliff, in to Palace Hill, where it would join the Ramparts, and so continue back to the Terrace again. In this circuit of some five miles there would be plainly visible all the most notable landmarks that have made Quebec the historic heart of Canada—Jacques Cartier's landing-place; the "habitation" of Champlain, his monument and fort; the chateau of every Governor General down to eighty years ago; the place from which Frontenac flung defiance at Phips, and Carleton at Montgomery; the sites and monument connected with Laval; the site on which the first Parliament in Greater Britain first assembled, from which Confederation was first proclaimed, and where His Majesty King Edward VII was housed on his visit here as Prince of Wales; a house recalling Nelson; a street named after de Salaberry, the hero of Chateauguay; and, of course, the battlefields of Wolfe and Montcalm, Murray and Lévis, and many another gallant warrior. But the principal link in all this splendid tour, which will encircle Quebec like a girdle of golden souvenirs, must be King Edward Park. Without it, nothing can be done; and Quebec, for all she is set so high upon her immemorial throne, and is so robed in beauty by the hand of Nature, must abdicate her proud position as the Queen of stronghold cities, and suffer the sheer wanton loss of the crown of glory she inherits in the Heights and Plains of Abraham.

RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCERNING THE PROPOSED

KING EDWARD PARK

Respectfully submitted in accordance with the above report

A.

We respectfully beg leave to state that all our recommendations for the removal of the Ross Rifle Factory are subject to the following *sine qua non* conditions:—

As the Ross Rifle Factory has been the means of creating a centre of labour favourably situated with regard to the present site, and as the hands employed are not responsible for the disastrous choice of this present site, they, the present employees, should be safeguarded from any disadvantage which any change of site may cause them. The new factory should be either within easy reach of their present centre of labour or where the neighbourhood offers them at least equal opportunities for the creation of a new centre. To

further ensure that no hardship should be inflicted by the act of removal on any of the present employees, we think a proviso, guaranteeing them continuance of employment during and after removal, should be included in any agreement drawn up.

B.

No more land within the limits of the proposed park should be granted, leased, sold, or in any other way alienated, to the Ross Rifle, or any other Company, or to any person, under any circumstances whatever.

C.

The Ross Rifle Factory should be removed from the Park limits so soon as possible, subject to the conditions mentioned in clause A.

D.

As the Dominion Government owns this part of the Heights of Abraham, or "Cove Fields," and as this Government is expected to contribute to the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the foundation of Quebec—which is also the 300th birthday of Canada, and of all Greater Britain—we would respectfully beg leave to suggest that immediate steps should be taken to lay before this Government the proposal that an essential part of its contribution should be the granting of the Cove Fields to the City of Quebec, and the removal of

the Ross Rifle Factory to another site, subject, of course, to the conditions mentioned in clause A.

E.

The Government of the Province of Quebec should be approached with a view to obtaining, as part of their contribution to the same celebration, a grant of the Gaol and its grounds.

F.

Measures should also be taken to ascertain on what terms the City could obtain such other property as will be included within the new Avenue and the Park. Terms favourable to the City should be attainable, as the value of those parts of properties which shall remain between the new Avenue and the Grande Allée will be so much enhanced by the Park, that those parts must become more valuable to their owners after the Park shall have been made than the whole properties are now. The strip of ground connecting the Plains with Wolfe's Cove should be obtained from the owners of Marchmont.

G.

The construction of Laurier Avenue should be undertaken so soon as feasible; also the promenade from St. Louis Gate, running along the Cove Field glacis of the

Citadel to the summit of Cape Diamond, and connecting with, and forming part of, "Grey Promenade."

H.

Steps should be taken towards the building, on the highest part of Laurier Avenue, of a national museum, to show the development of the history of Canada from that of Quebec.

I.

We hope to make the suitable marking of all historic spots within the Park grounds the subject of our next communication.

The whole respectfully submitted by us, your Commissioners, the undersigned:—

F. LANGELIER,

E. E. TACHÉ,

WILLIAM WOOD.

QUEBEC, 22nd of December, 1906.

